/100 cont./

121 MS [99] to the Christians. It is said that they are white and friendly; one reason why they are regarded as a horde of the Paricys."

[31] Martius has them living at the southernmost sources of the Schingú and also lists them at the sources of the Arinos and Juruena. He also classifies /101/ them under the Parecí /Pareni/ who are scattered across the watershed between Tapajos, Madeira, and Paraguay.

101 Now it turns out that placing the Parecí and the Bakaïrí together in this way was erroneous. The well-known closest relatives of the Bakaïrí, as I wish to point out briefly in advance, are settled north of the Amazon River, and a tribe somewhat more distantly related to them, but belonging to the same group, lives in the source region of the Madeira.

122 I myself was familiar only with the note of Martius, and on the journey I had no idea how interesting this little tribe was

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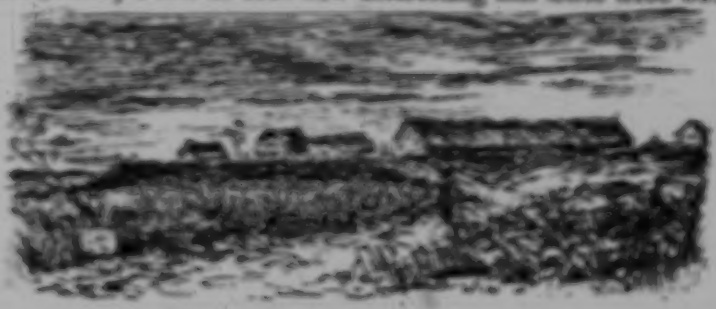

Bakaïrí village.

122 and how many hours I would later spend pondering over its past.

115 123 [191] It was a very fortunate circumstance that Reginaldo -- who was always ready to smoke a cigarette with me and warmed up more and more and gradually became highly amused by my notations -- had an amazing gift of quick perception and was able to express himself clearly for practical purposes in a somewhat crude Portuguese. Such an opportunity

[22] never came again later. Reginaldo was a good person, intelligent, and held the reins of his chieftainship in strong, paternal hands.

/105 cont./

533 sounds not unpleasant, and has something both gentle and fascinatingly eerie about it at the same time, just as the wailing night-wind blowing down the chimney is described when the story-teller /106/ first gives thanks to God that he is lying warm and safe in his snug bed, but is again and again obliged to listen to the weird lament and finally sees in a dream the ghost of a 122 friend who lies dying. We sit crowded against one another in the [354] small room; a gourd filled with fat, in which a wick was burning, lay upon the floor. I was glad when the gourd also started to burn and we were able to step outside where the stars glistened and we shook ourselves -- the shuddering was over.

562 The women held out until 19 June; then they came; Reginaldo laughed them; a dozen in number, they walked one behind the other across the campo, the father of the tribe in the lead.

[309] On this afternoon, however, not one of them would let herself be looked at closely; the procession entered the big house and disappeared. Reginaldo came to ask us for an opera glass that he wanted to show to the women. Toward evening they appeared again and left single file as before. During the night they slept in the forest, a brief half-an hour away.

292 On 20 June they appeared again; Reginaldo looked superb [301] at their head; he wore his gray felt hat, his blue captain's uniform and white trousers, walked barefoot, and had a blue-white feather stuck crosswise in each ear lobe. He was very agreeable [123 [126] that Wilhelm should sketch him in all his glory. Moreover, he assumed, and we daily encouraged him in this, that we were conducting all inquiries concerning the Bakairí only in order to report them again to the Emperor of Brazil -- at least the man understood that and for this purpose he was glad to oblige.

[291] He also accompanied us to the women; they were barefoot, of course, but otherwise wore the complete costume of the female rural inhabitant; the majority were of a mature age; I liked best one big, strong girl whom Homer would have called βοῶπις -- The captain's wife, christened Ines, was quiet and pious and looked as though she had had many a care. We tried to

/106 cont./

123 shake hands with each one, but they evidently did not know the purpose of this; when we put bracelets and earrings on them, however, they understood this immediately. The children had to have something too.

[126] Wilhelm was allowed to sketch Frau Ines behind the house; as yet I did not dare think about taking the measurements of the women, and then fate knocked on the door.

122 Very unpleasant discoveries about the condition of the supplies changed the entire situation.

On 18 June we had already reached an agreement with

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Bakaïrí boy.

122 Castro to wait at most three more days for Tupy, in view of our uncertain /107/ future it was not to be justified if we did not use the favorable time of year better. The Bakaïrí figured five days more to the Paranatinga; another stop was necessary in the second aldeament, let Tupy follow us there. As far as the lost iron goods [501] were concerned, we had become less worried. Daniel had first called our attention to the bark canoes of the Bakaïrí; on the Rio Novo there was only a very small one that was being used as a trough; we were to see them on the Paranatinga; if we could make up our minds to make do with these bark canoes, we would need only a few tools, which perhaps could be obtained from a fazendeiro /see "Fazenda" in the glossary, p.171 / living near the Paranatinga. The advice was good.

/123 cont./

162 Agosta. -- A boy Irineo (parents dead).
621 Luis (Bolivian), Martin (Brazilian) with wife Carlotta (Paraguayan) and child.

126 I could not rejoice enough about the fortunate circumstance
115 that I was able to make the linguistic survey on the Rio Novo. Even with the intelligent Reginaldo it had been difficult enough to determine phonetically the inimitable tongue exercises that make up the Bakaïrí language, but with Captain Mêmo, who did nothing but nod contentedly, and the others who either laughed or grew impatient, nothing could be done.

On the other hand, I am indebted to Caetano for the legends which I shall retell later.

342 The largest house, which Capta ns Caetano and Felipe oc-
824 cupied together, was 21 paces long and 9 1/2 paces wide. The roof and walls, the latter supported by cross rods of tacoara /bamboo; see the glossary, p. 172 / consisted entirely of buritĩ /see the glossary, p. 170 / straw. Only Miguel owned a round house, the inner frame of tacoara covered with buritĩ leaves.
[343] There were seven houses and two new buildings. In addition two pig huts. In the case of one new building, I inquired about the timber that made up the frame. Two tall aruera posts supported the uppermost longitudinal roof-beam of aricá wood (also cunhão de porco). The sloping side-beams of the roof likewise cunhão de porco, the two longitudinal beams guanandí. The smaller posts that supported the roof beams: timbó, peuva, carvão, branco. One roof was also covered with campo grass.

164 I visited Miguel, who had an attack of fever, in his bee-
352 /124/ hive. He lay in his cotton hammock and let himself be
353 waited on by pretty Maria. The whole room hung full of calabashes, rice and farinha baskets, skins, arrows -- things left by his grandfather; it was far more comfortable in this still true heathen affair than in the characterless huts of the adherents of
123 a mock civilization. With dreadful gestures of disgust, the old
[059] man swallowed the bitter quinine and buried his fever-reddened
[283] face in the hammock. Maria, in gratitude, baked me a beijú ✗

✗ [Cf. glossary on p. 170 --Analyst

/124 cont./

123 283 241 [392] [251] and showed me how the raw cotton, merely cleaned of seeds, is twisted into thread with the spindle. The cotton plants stand between the huts everywhere; beside them grows mamona /castor oil plant/, whose oil serves us for wretched illumination in the evening, and peppers. Mats are spread out on racks in order to dry the mandioca farina.

The roça," the cultivated field, lies some distance away. The Bakairí plant mandioca, beans, rice, sweet potatoes, sugar, and deliver to the Fazenda Corrego fundo. Their rapadura was 272 excellent; the melada, a honey-sweet syrup, moved us to exclamations of admiration. The sugar cane is pressed between 249 two cylinders in the simplest way. (Cf. the vignette at the be-

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Old-style hut.

[249] ginning of this chapter /see p. 2/).

We found Caetano's hut divided into three rooms: Caetano received us in the high, airy center room and shut the door, behind which little Luiza was doing housework. Felipe and Carlotta 354, Parecí lived in the corner room opposite. Three canga blocks 482 formed the hearth. Plaited back-baskets, which are carried by a forehead band and in which the women are said to carry up to six 412 arrobas. Graters to grate the mandioca: hard little spikes from 824 the rib of the buriti leaf are neatly set into the middle part of a narrow piece of wood almost a meter long.

/125/

648 Carlotta showed us the captain's commission (from 1882) of her absent husband. As a seal an imitation gold capsule with a bas-relief cross, which had lost its shine, was set on a piece of pink ribbon; in addition, a chest bow in the Brazilian colors.

594 553 Luis, whose new house is not yet finished, is hospitably taken in by Carlotta, who, during Felipe's absence, claims most of the space; his real affection, however, is for his namesake,

837 Luisa Cajibí. He said that he and Maria Cajibí had had a little son who had died. "And did Miguel know about it?" I asked timidly. "Oh, he," replied the vain mulatto, whose face in comparison with that of the Indians is like roasted coffee as against unroasted, "he was completely in favor of the affair and, of course, he immediately knew of the Brazilian descent of the child by its light skin and its hair."

563 Luis is extremely satisfied with his life among the Bakaïrí who are so far beneath him; he says that he has everything that he needs, does not owe anybody a copper, and the Indians are

[829] good people; later on he would perhaps like to go to Lisbon, because, according to what a friend told him, it must be the most

123 beautiful city in the world. He was impertinent enough to interfere with quite unjustifiable demands in the transaction concerning the delivery of rice which Daniel had made with Caetano on the first day. Daniel, who is easily aroused, seized his comblain and hit him over the head with the butt; the philosopher hastily bolted on his long brown legs and, standing bent over in the doorway of the chief's hut, exchanged a flood of compliments with Daniel, while that good creature, old Captain Mêmo, in his tattered, coarse cotton suit, which apparently came from the prison, squatted on the floor and stared forward with a friendly expression.

Our idyll was unpleasantly interrupted on 1 July by the news that Tupy had appeared the evening before at the fazenda. On the way he had met the men sent back by us, commanded them to return, and rode on ahead of them. The sergeant, hunting pigs, had lost the correspondence in the forest.

/131 cont./

122 At night we write busily: two benches serve as tables; for
[534] sitting, knapsack and hammock. Outside the frogs are croaking;
the Bakaïrí João, whom we call the minnesinger, is improvising
on his violin; he cannot be parted from it and even takes it along
to bathe. Thus, for the time being, the last night under a roof.

[133] 5 July. It was late afternoon before the staff crossed over.
[501] The river was about 150 meters wide. On either side is a barranca
about five meters high. The long bark canoes give a confidence-
inspiring impression. We shall have to become accustomed to
• [123] them. Antiono already feels completely at home with us; he has
fallen in love with a mouth organ that I gave him.

[136] 6 July. The river sent up mists in the early morning. Pedro
caught a big pirahyba (Bagrus reticulatus). He is parading around
in a soldier's coat, under which, and, to be sure, over his trousers,
he is wearing an old flannel shirt of mine. Our ladies would take
him for a curly-haired Neapolitan boy with a gentle, melancholy
disposition, and yet the youth is only interested /132/ in killing
everything that creeps and flies, and in between times in sucking
sugar cane.

123 First Caetano came, in order to have breakfast with us once
more. A number of women followed, brought us more beijús,
and squatted to one side, the two Carlottas combing their long
hair. The over-jackets had already disappeared on the second day.
122 Luis appeared last of all, when all the canoes were already at
our shore; he went as far as the last sandstone slab, took off his
clothes, and tried to wade across naked. But he was afraid and
stood irresolute. "Well, come along," cried Felipe's wife.
The minnesinger finally went after him. /Illustration appears
here./

At ten o'clock we set out; for a long time the laughing and
shouting of the women sounded behind us.

132 I am supplying the missing meteorological data for the stay
in Corrego fundo and the Bakaïrí village:

/161 cont./

123 They brought fire to us in the hut and withdrew after they had examined our candle closely. One or another, however, constantly came to have coat or trousers put on. One young man appeared and, pointing to his chest, complained, "tuck, tuck, tuck," about heart palpitations.

/162/ I gave him a powder, curious as to whether he would not reject it. After I reassured him a bit and patted him encouragingly on the shoulder, he drank the mixture slowly and fearfully, but drank it to the last drop. An unsuspecting little people. The procedure was described to new visitors, who listened with close attention; the little powder-paper was observantly looked over; but the curative power, which soon made its appearance, was apparently attributed to the knife with which I mixed the medicine. -- Wilhelm had Chinese fireworks with him; this suddenly went off in the yard and frightened them almost more than the shots. He secretly lighted a leftover little tube in the interior of the hut -- how it was possible is still a puzzle to me now -- but at the same instant the five persons present all started at the same time through the low door opening to the outside.

132 13 August. 7:00 A.M.: dry. 13.1, wet. 12.5.

123 126 Writing uncomfortable. Filling in from yesterday, I am sitting outside on a dry beam that lies bare in the sand. It is still quiet. The professor has just carefully picked up the fireworks cases; he is standing in back of me and is looking admiringly at what I am doing. Scarcely a sound comes from the huts. A blue-231 yellow arara on the roof has the floor; it pronounced the λ, on which I almost sprain my tongue, just as accurately and yet vaguely blurred as the natives. The tame pavão do rio clucks and gobbles in strange tones that seem to come from a music box; bored by the morning mood, a green parrot is sitting on a bare branch of shrubbery. I hear with displeasure that someone is drinking in the house, mingau again?

/168 cont./
574 other, the professor, naked, but, along with bow and arrow, one of our mirrors in his hand. We were undoubtedly well recommended.

532 Shortly before the exit from the woods we came across a wonderful display of about a dozen animal figures along one side of the path, /169/ probably the remains from a festival. They were made of leaves and straw, mostly quadrupeds with long, thin bodies, consisting of practically nothing but spinal column and long legs; the tallest ones reached to our hips. Something that was evidently supposed to be a monkey was climbing up a pole. A human figure was incised in a tree, with roguish use of a depression present in the bark. Such is the beginning of art in the primeval forest.

361 After we had passed a roça and low shrub planting, we saw
[241] four huts, two large ones and two small ones, lying correspond-
574 ingly opposite each other. The nobility was assembled on the
[576] plaza; a friendly "am(b)á" (that is you) with raised hand wel-
[345] comed each one. Then, one after the other, we were grasped at the wrists by our hosts, mostly by two at the same time, and led before the festival hut, where beam and stool were ready.

Here we sat is long rows with our guns, and immediately
[123] the serving of mingau began. Then we did our tricks, cut nails, let them look through the opera glasses, lighted a match with fire steel, etc. The professor beamed; he was reaping honor with us.

[301] A sturdy young man, a diadem of stiff jaguar skin over his
[624] forehead, seemed to be acting as herald. He poured busily, screamed louder than the others, and grasped everything most quickly. I had the feeling that we were traveling circus artists and were being informally received and treated in a club. One
302 of the younger sportsmen had had his body painted with black
531 squares, which were joined at the edges with short lines. The drawing on the upper thigh of another -- a black wavy line and in the depressions of it black dots -- definitely resembled the skin marking of a fish, the pintado.

/176 cont./

433 It is clear that here agriculture falls behind hunting and
181 fishing; Aldea IV is military in character and forms the frontier
648 defense against alien tribes.

763 In one hut lay an ancient, paralytic little woman emaciated to a skeleton, whose soul seemed to say "åla Bakaïrí" (it is enough Bakaïrí) and was trying impatiently to flutter away. The hammock was resting partly on the ground; two women squatted beside it and, as garrulous cronies, explained to us the suffering of the dying little mother.

231 Of tame animals we found a heron, small parrots, a king-fisher and the socó-morena.

345 The festival hut was 18 meters long, nine meters wide.
532 There were clumsily carved wooden fish hanging there, as well as a few finless specimens, wound bands which perhaps represented the electric eel.

Two square pieces of wood, painted red and white, with modeled nose and two eye sockets were striking; they are held in front of the face and represent doves, whose voice the artist can imitate better than the head (1).

1. Cf. the second ethnological plate /see p. 165/.

534 /177/ Four menis and a number of rattles were stuck in the
353 side walling.

624 Only in the festival hut did the herald put down his bow and arrows, but he did not part with them during our entire stay, even
[296] when he handed us a few bundles of tobacco. The latter, by the way, was better than among the earlier Bakaïrí. A few modest old
622 people were there, none with gray hair; among them the chief and, if I understood correctly, a vice-chief, the authority during the time the former is absent.

● 123 A shooting demonstration on the plaza filled them with
152 terror; they jumped with fright and turned away convulsively, most of all the mighty herald. His "åla, åla" was very humble and urgent.

/51 cont./

226 Beyond the cachoeira we counted 13 so-called "currals" /corrals/, circles of boulders in shallower places in the river bed; the fish can enter through a gap in the circle and are then herded together by the Indians and shot. I was not a little surprised when, farther downstream in quiet water, Antonio suddenly stated that a canoe had been here yesterday or the day before; all I noticed was a quantity of small white bubbles near the shore. The foam of the oar stroke is preserved in a path on calm water; not destroyed by waves, the air bubbles remain on the water and are gradually driven to the shore by the wind.

/52/ For two hours we rowed on vigorously, spoke but little and with a soft voice, and, cautiously on the lookout, proceeded into each new bend close to the inner edge. But all signs had ceased. On either side lay tall, silent forest, the river glistened in the sunlight, nothing living stirred within a wide radius, and only a yellow butterfly fluttered past here and there. Shortly before midday the stream bed opened into a rather wide inlet; one could not quite make out whether this was a lagoon or an island formation and the river divided into two types. we landed and I sent the two off to cross the bit of woods that separated us from the lagoon and to examine the course of the water beyond.

I sat on the beach waiting; Carlos was already coming back, when suddenly I notice a canoe a gunshot downstream. A single naked Indian is standing in it and swiftly making for the shore. there he steers the vessel behind the skeleton of a fallen tree and cautiously crouches down in the shelter of it. "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí," I cried with all my might, "kúra Bakaïrí, áma Bakaïrí, úra Bakaïrí, we are Bakaïrí, you are a Bakaïrí, I am a Bakaïrí, the Bakaïrí are good" -- in short, I shout in joyful excitement whatever is inspired in me by the ghost of reminiscences from the greeting formulas of that particular tribe. And behold: "Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí, Bakaïrí" comes resounding back. Other words are added, which unfortunately I do not understand, but the high voice, rising in uncertainty, bears an unhappily anxious and mistrustful expression, and the arms swing wildly in the air behind

/52 cont./

123 609 the tree skeleton, as though the man were dancing there like a cannibal in a show booth. "Bakaïrí ...," I commence once more, when luckily Antonio comes bounding up with mighty leaps, and, half out of breath from excitement, he for his part now shouts a long explanation downriver, which again I do not understand, but which releases a grateful howl of exultation on the part of the entrenched hero and clarifies the situation as though by a stroke of magic.

[501] [29] [411] The canoe shot out of its hiding place and hastened at once, a fine, long, dry bark-canoe, toward our sad, crooked, wax-plastered, loam-smeared vessel laved with dirty water -- truly, I thought, we were the ones who were entering the sphere of a higher culture here; even though the noble boatman was dressed with only a belt-cord and carried with him nothing but the neatly worked, feather-trimmed arrows and the bow which lay on the floor of the canoe beside a calabash filled with honey, nevertheless in its trimness and cleanliness this total picture gliding toward us contrasted most advantageously with us ragged bearers of civilization beside the piece of wet-rot bark that was called our boat. Well, the newcomer clearly showed by his facial expression that for his part he nevertheless admired us.

123 152 He did not behave at all like the silent, gloomy Indian whose soul, as I might have expected on the basis of our school-wisdom, reflected the monotonous, oppressive environment of the tropical forest; rather, he laughed /53/ and chatted with his fellow tribesman Antonio as though he had [576] grown up in a fortunate country of the temperate zone. In a few minutes we were good friends; at my urging he even told us his name, which, of course, according to the custom of his country, he could not do without modest hemming and 551 622 hawing. His name was Tumayaua and he was the chief of a village of the Bakaïrí a few hours away.

123 609 Thus actually of the Bakaïrí! The hope of the past weeks was fulfilled, we entered our research area among a good-natured little people well known to us, and our debut

/53 cont./

123 [609] was assured. Tumayaua, as I now learned from Antonio, had been no little disconcerted by my call; he had answered that he was a Bakaïrí, but that we were not Bakaïrí. Obligingly, the good man offered us his canoe, he himself climbed into ours, and took charge of guiding us. But we chatted no less busily 101 than we rowed. The Bakaïrí of the Batovy were Tumayaua's 114 relatives and friends. There was wonderful news about the first village that we had visited in 1884. The old Indian whom we at that time had called the "professor" was on his way to the Paranatinga with a few others! They wanted to pay a new visit to Antonio and his tribal brothers. Pauhaga, the first Bakaïrí whom we had greeted on the Batovy on our previous journey, lived at the moment in Tumayaua's community, and a strange coincidence thus decreed that we were to see him again likewise 131 in the very first village of the Kulisehu. Were we really on the 103 Kulisehu? Yes, the river was called Kulisehu, Kulisëu, or Kulihëu, since "h" and "s" are interchangeable in Bakaïrí, and all the tribes that we were looking for apparently also lived on its shores.

133 Cachoeiras, however, interrupted the conversation. We had set out at 12:00; after half an hour there came a low rock-cachoeira 60 meters long, through which we laboriously wound our way; then shortly after 1:00 No. 4 of this day's series, where we had to unload and stop for half an hour. At 2:45 we came to the fifth and last, which poured over the boulders in a mighty 122 surge. Here, however, the pilot went on strike against going any farther in our canoe, which was succumbing to acute dropsy. We took him aboard as a fourth and left the corpse to its fate. Tumayaua, we had to acknowledge approvingly, had truly come our way at a good time; it is highly improbable that we three with our baggage and without knowing the way would have reached the village through the final cachoeiras in the miserable canoe that could no longer carry the single Indian. Certainly we would not have reached this goal today. At 3:15 we landed on the left bank; we were in the "harbor."

2. Steinen--15E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/56 cont./

122 [437] On the following day, 11 September 1887, I sent Antonio and Carlos back to Independencia with the news. In exchange for a bush knife I had acquired one of the two canoes that the Bakaïrí possessed. I myself wanted to remain behind to have a new canoe made and, for the sake of my studies, to take advantage of the rare opportunity to stay alone among these children of nature. [361] I heard that in the second Bakaïrí village lying downstream there were three canoes and we could perhaps obtain two of them. While a good rancho was to be built for those remaining behind at our permanent quarters, one or two men who were now to be fetched by Antonio and Carlos were to ride with me to the second Bakaïrí village; there we could complete our outfitting and then, if all went well, row back to Independencia with four canoes, in order finally to commence the actual river journey. Moreover, to save time, Antonio and Carlos were to leave their canoe at the first large cachoeira and find Independencia overland. Thus, along with the experiences gained in the meantime by the gentlemen at Independencia, the terrain would be thoroughly explored and the question settled as to whether the permanent quarters could not be pushed forward closer to the first Bakaïrí village.

● 123 [121] After I had brought the two worthies to the harbor and they had soon disappeared in the nearest bend of the river, I returned to my new friends and soon felt so comfortable in their midst that without hesitation I count those idyllic days among the happiest that I have experienced. I shall try to do them justice in a little sketch; this will give me the opportunity to report many little traits of the good people which could not be put in a purely scientific report, but which nevertheless are not without value, because they reveal the Indians to us not wholly as we are accustomed to imagine them. Not a little of this disappeared when the larger group arrived later; the complete unconcern which they showed toward me as a single individual did not remain, and their behavior more closely resembled the well-known pattern customarily described in books. And here I 114 159 should immediately like to enter a protest, with regard to my

162 /58 cont./ unfortunately, she scratched her head far too often,
621 and though this may occasionally have occurred out of embarrassment,
515 nevertheless lice had their visible part in it.

[262] Eva's friend, about twelve years old, "my intended" (Pl. 5, third from the right), was in the habit of picking them out and eating them.
162 In general this one had all the good things in the village, and many

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[301]

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Fig. 2. "Eva," Tumayana's daughter.

162 beads that I had given others I later found around her neck. She was the
621 little daughter of the deceased chief and his /59/ heiress. Her uncle
[622] Tumayaua was only the provisional chief; if I had followed Paleko's
[123] very seriously meant suggestion and had married his niece, he would have had to turn over the government to me. Even today I cannot deny that,
[291] quite apart from the excellent match with which there was associated no greater demands in the way of dress than a string of beads and a piece of bark-bast the size of a small human ear, a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ethnology of the Kuliseha could scarcely
[142] have been imagined. I saw little of the other women, with the exception, perhaps, of the "Egyptian," who also came over from the second village, a tall greedy person with an Egyptian profile and almond-shaped eyes (Pl. 5, second from the right).

[See P. 28--Analyst]

/59 cont./

● 123 During the first two days I modestly restrained myself in order not to alarm the good people. I also noticed that one of the men was almost always detached for special duty near me and thus a sort of guard was established, when on the first night, after I had taken my leave, I wanted to stay up for a while with a light and write in my journal, old Paleko appeared at the door and asked me just as politely as urgently to go to sleep and blow out the candle. My discretion bore good fruit; they soon took me into the two large houses: in one Paleko and my intended were the chief occupants, in the other Tumayaua and [122] his daughter. They took me out to fish, to the launching of the new canoe, and the like, and everything could not have been better, if only I had not suffered from chronic hunger as a result of their hospitable, but for me absolutely inadequate [206] board. I had to try to help myself by heavy smoking and in this [512] respect achieved what was humanly possible, whereas almost the only time the Indians gave themselves up to this pleasure, but then in a body and with great enthusiasm, was during our nightly tobacco meeting outside on the plaza, the jolliest hours of the day.

345 My little house had served at the time of the festivals as [122] the dance house, "kxato-éti," or "flute house." Two reed [534] flutes hanging on the wall in a case made of buriti-palm straw were the only remains of past glory. For me, however, it was [562] better this way, for the women, who passed in and out of this ruin freely, may never enter the flute house of the men. It was seven paces wide and nine and a half long; the main posts in the center, standing two and a half paces apart, which supported the roof, were four and a half meters high. At the top, in the straw roof, a vent one meter and three and three-fourths meters long was left open. A couple of fish weirs stood in one corner, but otherwise there was nothing but the two posts, from one of which I had stretched the hammock over to the wall.

231 Besides my guard of honor, I also had the company of a japú (Cassicus), who seemed like a green tropical Jim Crow /Hans Huckebein/ to me; he was permitted to sit only up in the

/59 cont./

231 rafters of the smoke vent, and, if he suddenly shot down and raced around us like a wild animal, he was quickly chased back to his observation post, where he locked down, his head bent inquisi-
224 tively and his beak open. /60/ Sometimes one of the little mice
[262] so busily active at night came spying about and, if it did not scamper away in time, was shot with a child's arrow and brought
136 to the women as a roast. Almost constant guests were large black-white striped bees, which, like a butterfly that now and then fluttered into the entrance, would calmly let themselves be seized and put aside. On a hot noonday I often had the feeling of sitting in the midst of a beehive filled with buzzing and droning.

● 123 It was at this hour on the third day that I fled from the bees
[342] and flies to Paleko's large house and entered it for the first time. It was wonderfully cool and comfortable in there and no annoying insects. Only ants laden with grains of flour marched
[519] down their street to the mandioca pestle. The men were swing-
[574] ing in the hammocks, their chief occupation at home, and
[352] after I had sat a while, for the sake of politeness, on the stool of honor, which was as high as a cigar box, I soon followed their example.

342 One had the feeling of being in a huge beehive, fortunately without the bees. The ground plan was almost circular with a diameter of 15 meters, two mighty posts standing nine meters high and three and a half meters apart, supported in the center the huge straw dome, the framework of which consisted of horizontal bamboo rings and over these vertical poles bent upward toward the vent. It was smoke-blackened, glistening like tar. The walling all around, above which it rose, a tightly closed ring of posts one and a half meters high, interrupted only by two door entrances opposite each other, which were much
[352] too low for me. From the wall towards the interior, in the direction of the radii, the hammocks were stretched, fastened on either end to particularly strong posts, so that the outer space
353 was divided into a number of rooms, albeit open. The large center space around the main posts and under the vent, which

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyšuhu kuyšuhuhũ -- kirũhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyšuhu kuyšu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ ritõ hahẽ -- ohõ hohũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ, ohõhuhõ huhũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte õhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward, the õhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- õho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I [123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
[128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
289] be seen from Plate 5, [illegible] wore the "ulũri," a yellowish brown piece
301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

[See P 28 -- Analyst]

/64 cont./

291 the upper arms or under one knee or above one ankle. One youth
301 or another would also stick a feather into his pierced ear-lobe;
304 one must not think, however, that the Indian always appears in his entire festive array, as on tobacco-store signs.

ooo I should like, however, to say a few words at this point about the general impression that the "nakedness" makes on the unself-conscious visitor. One does not see this evil nakedness at all after a quarter of an hour, and if one then purposely reminds oneself of it and asks whether the naked human beings, father, mother, children, who are innocently standing or walking around there ought to be condemned or pitied because of their lack of modesty, one must either laugh about it as about something incredibly silly or raise a protest against it as against something contemptible. From the aesthetic standpoint the lack of covering has its pros and cons, like all truth; youth and vigor often looked delightful in their unconstrained movements, old age and disease
291 often dreadful in their decay. Our clothing seemed as strange
●123 to the good people as their nakedness seemed to us. I was accompanied by men and women when I went to bathe and was obliged to submit to having all my onion skins examined in the greatest detail. They lacked any understanding of the embarrassed feeling that I was well-bred enough to feel with respect to their curiosity; they thoughtfully examined myPolynesian tattooing, especially a blue kiwi of New Zealand, but, to my satisfaction, they were obviously disappointed by the fact that there were not greater wonders hidden under the careful and unusual packing.

123 They themselves, of course, also wore something resem-
535 bling clothes for their masquerade and dance, apparel plaited out of palm straw, the name of which is éti = house, and thus my shirt was given the grand name of "back-house"; I had a "head-house" and a "leg-house." Since the women do not dance and only the men may use this apparel in their flute-house, Eva's question as to whether "karáiba pekóto," the women of the Karaiben, also wore clothes, "houses," was probably not so un-
ooo justified. -- How quickly one can become accustomed to the naked

/64 cont./

surroundings, even in the regions of the unconscious, is best shown by the fact that from the 15th to the 16th of September, as well as during the following night, I dreamed of my German home and saw all my acquaintances there just as naked as the Bakaïrí; I myself was astonished about it in my dream, but my table partner at a dinner party, a highly respectable lady in whom I took an interest, reassured me immediately by saying: "Everyone goes around that way now."

123 291 The purpose that we associate with clothing remained hidden from them; there was no doubt about that when one saw in what naïve fashion they put on the parts of my apparel that they got hold of for a while. And how could they know any more about the rigors of our climate than about the third chapter of the first book of Moses? They played with my garments /Pl. V appears here/ /65/ like vain children. Luchu was happy when I loaned him my poncho, and with it and my hat he walked proudly about the village plaza like the most conceited fop.

291 In the ethnographic description of the Kulisehu tribes I shall have to come back to the subject of clothing and the feeling of modesty; here I can only truthfully report that in my association with these people I did not see anything of our feeling of modesty, but I did observe another kind, absolutely foreign to us, about which I shall report presently.

124 192 831 During the inquiry into the vocabulary, the parts of the body represented important and easily handled material. The Bakaïrí found it very amusing that I wanted to know everything, but, on the other hand, were very proud that their language was so rich and that the Bakaïrí had a word for each part. They became very merry at this point in my questioning and were not wanting in prompt answers where, according to our conceptions, they should have been ashamed and if possible answered in Latin or in the language of children. Considerately -- for at this time I, of course, was looking through my cultural spectacles and saw that they were naked -- I had waited for a moment when the women had gone out of the hut. I was astonished by the fact that the answer that was due suddenly came from the outside, from a very amused girl's voice. My caution had been purposeless. It was the caution of,

[TEXT Continues on p. 297]

/66 cont./

264 and licked them off as he swung himself, but no one bothered
276 another with his company. In eating beijú they were perhaps a
little more liberal, at least toward me, but in the evening I often
saw the men turn aside individually to consume a piece. Later
Ehrenreich /67/ found something similar among the Karajá
/Caraja/ on the Araguay /Araguaia/. "Etiquette demands that
each one eat by himself, turned away from the other. Anyone
who violates this must endure the mockery of the others."

264 Now among the Bakaïrí this etiquette was definitely
276 stricter, certainly in relation to the guest at least, for they com-
● 123 pletely lost their sense of humor over my lack of manners. I
certainly did many things that were not the practice of the country,
I sang loudly, I asked men and women their names, I refused the
delicate beetle larvae and committed similar quite inexcusable
things, but I never noticed that people were ashamed. In this
case, however, it was more a matter of something improper: I
had been indecent. There can be no doubt about that.

264 If we must admit, along with Heine, that we all are naked
271 inside our clothes and may be granted only relative justification
for our feeling of modesty, the Bakaïrí, too, cannot be offended
in his nobler feelings by the mere fact of eating, insofar as the
individual takes care of the process for himself. Involuntarily one
thinks of some animal that carries its portion of the meal to one
side, but obviously out of the fear that another will take it away.
[46] I do believe that fish and meat were relatively scarce among the
Bakaïrí, who, with a certain indolence, limited themselves more
to mandioca and maize than they themselves liked; I am certain
that if I had stayed there a week longer I would voluntarily have
sat down in a quiet corner with every good morsel that I had justly
or unjustly got hold of, in order to consume it protected from the
glances of the others. Even at that time, I am afraid, I was cast-
ing hungry glances toward the others. The origin of the feeling of
modesty described, however, must be rooted in ancient times.

000 Good heavens, when we were on short rations on the ex-
pedition, how we so-called civilized human beings checked each
other's portions, I can only say with greed and envy, although we

/70 cont./

823 805 [539] norôku, pône, it is now -- as though we were to say "Jahrê" /the German word for "years," but with the accent on the final syllable/ -- transferred to the last one "noroků," "poné," and the arrow flies, tsök, tsök, from the bow.

Beyond the Nahuquá, however, where the knowledge of details becomes vague, only the days' journeys themselves are given. The right hand, slowly rising in even motion, describes an arc from east to west, arrives down there, and suddenly is laid on the cheek coming up to meet it, remains there while the eyes are wearily closed, and then grasps the little finger of the left hand: sleep once. Then again the same figure, but the ring finger is grasped with the little finger and both are drawn aside: sleep twice, and so forth. Be attentive, noble listener, for woe to you if you ask a question -- there is no other way to help you but to begin again from the beginning.

• 123 [802] But revenge is sweet. My turn also came, for they wanted to know how far it is to Cuyabá, my starting point. Their faces were priceless when I counted off, first, the fingers of my left hand, then my right, then, exactly according to their method of counting, went over the toes of the left foot and those of the right, traveled and slept between each two fingers and each two toes in the prescribed way, and finally had to grasp my hair, pulling it apart, to demonstrate that the number of days still did not extend far enough and was more than 20! Then they murmured their "kõu, kõu" of amazement or "õko, õko, he õko" more and more impatiently; all talked at once and finally joined in the hearty laughter of sheer disbelief.

186 /71/ Individual Indian tribes were also ridiculed in vivid pantomime on account of their peculiarities; the Nahuquá were funny because of their beards, the Suyá, or, as the Bakaïrí say, Schuyá, had to bear the brunt because of their cork-disk which they wore in the lower lip, for which the actors stretched their lower lip far forward and produced a made-up jargon of snapping tones; the Trumaí were imitated with a horrible "huhuhuhu" and, because of their barbaric habit of tossing war captives into the river with their hands tied behind them, were presented as objects partly of scorn or disgust, partly of fear.

/71 cont./

201 412 [536] No activity with a tool of metal, stone, tooth, or wood was discussed without the appearance also of the appropriate sounds to portray it. It is true that a good part of this was to communicate with me, who knew only the rudiments of their language; they were more sparing with these /72/ sounds and gestures in their own conversation, but they nevertheless had at their disposal in ample measure the auxiliary language of expressive movement and used it in their communications with other tribes, as I saw later, in exactly the same way as with me. Thus the disadvantage that each tribe speaks a different language is of little concern, understanding was possible without difficulty even for a Karaiben, for the gestures, stereotyped, to be sure, nevertheless contain full clarity and still are not reduced to conventional abbreviations.

• 123 153 201 They also manifested an attentive interest in the interjections and gestures peculiar to me, which, of course, involuntarily took on a livelier expression than at home. If I accompanied any feeling with a sound that was strange to them, it was imitated; if I whistled softly to myself, I could soon hear one of them whistling happily along with me. Particularly if I laughed loudly and struck my leg, there was general acknowledgement; they would immediately slap their naked thighs, and Homeric laughter filled the village plaza.

126 My linguistic notes of the day, which I would bring out, were gone over once more in our tobacco club and were enriched by small contributions. The constellations, the names of animals, the inexhaustible material for parts of the body, and whatever the moment offered were noted down, read aloud, and confirmed with approval.

123 I, too, however, offered mimic performances, for which my interesting exhide offered the first occasion; I demonstrated our domestic animals to them and achieved a greater measure of success among my small, but grateful public than could ever have fallen to the lot of even the author of "Tierleben" /Animal Life/ or much-admired performing artists. Above all they became acquainted with cattle, sheep, and dogs, whose size and characteristics I described graphically to them as best I could,

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itáno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mäh," "wauwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mäh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mäh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itános, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin
[153] of my woolen clothing -- näh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mäh." So I replied "mäh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came,until -- mäh, mäh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[text continues on p. 41]

/73 cont./

123 [249] Tumayaua had me plant tobacco in front of his house, a proposal that astonished me somewhat until I realized that with my assistance he anticipated an excellent harvest or quality; hence I asked only that he start it, and then I crushed the capsules and put the seed into the ground, as though I had been a tobacco planter all my life. With Kulekule I had to go to the cataract [226] [179] below the village and help him with the fishing rod; he must not suspect that I had not swung this implement since grammar school days, when I had trouble rescuing it from the police.

226 123 One forenoon we took a very pleasant fishing excursion with half a dozen persons, among them a few women, to the saímo, a pond that lay in the campo about two and a half kilometers from [301] [412] the village. We walked a short distance through the woods, the women carrying fishing baskets and weirs, Paleko with a section of fish teeth on a string around his neck, and under his arm a stone ax that he had sharpened on a stone at the river, during which he [271] moistened it with saliva at his mouth. Meanwhile it was amusing to see how my intended and her sister drank out of the Kulisehu: mouth in water, supported on their two little hands, one leg in the air, not unlike young monkeys. On the way we sang together our ohohó ohohú hu in restrained tones, and I disturbed the morning quiet with a few louder songs. Alakuai took the liberty of removing my hat, but he was so happy with this adornment that in the name of all the saints I exposed my head to the pitiless campo sun.

226 Far away, to the edge of the wooded shore, stretched a queimada /burned clearing/ covered with fresh grass; only a single shade-giving tree stood beside the pond. In the middle of the knee-deep swampy water were set three weirs, half of which, with their mouths, protruded out. Then, with the fishing baskets, kútu, which had the shape of a blunted cone open at the top and bottom and were put together out of thin, pointed sticks, /74/ several persons walked through the pond in a bent position and stabbed the ground quickly: the kútu were inverted over the little fish and the latter pulled out from the top with the hand and placed in a hanging basket. After they had been working in this fashion for a while, they converged from various sides toward the center, where the weirs lay,

/74 cont./

226 and sought to drive the fish into them. It was an amusing sight: the girls extremely agile, the men less quick, fat Yapü in particular not at all in his element apparently, much laughing and splashing, in the air a few hovering dragonflies and humming bees without number, on the shore under the tree the busily commenting old Paleko, who leaned with his left hand on a stick and held pressed under his upper arm on the same side the very superfluous stone ax. The fish were called poniũ or poriũ, the jejũ of the Brazilians.

482 [122] The bark canoe that I had ordered was ready on September 18; the stone ax had worked slowly, but very neatly. Four men carried the vessel to the river; on their shoulders they had placed rings plaited out of brown bast and with exactly the same appearance as those our market women wear on their heads.

● 123 [114] I had now been alone with the good Bakaïri for more than a week and I noticed that they were becoming somewhat impatient. They asked far too often when the "younger brothers" were coming. What I had carried with me in the way of valuables was long since in their possession anyway; even my améma ikũto ("figure of the lizard"), a reptile with glass scales and ruby-red eyes, which they had greedily attempted to get belonged to them.

But our good understanding remained the same up to the final hour. If it had been up to me, I would have preferred to [262] spend the entire rainy season with them, although I could not get [122] rid of a sourish taste in my throat from the eternal starchy food 157 and I was also suffering from digestive upsets. My first impressions about the peaceable and sympathetic character of my hosts needed no correction. The elders were wise and solicitous, the young people vigorous and agile, the women industrious and domestic, all of them well-meaning, a little vain, and, with the exception of a few mothers absorbed by their duties, always gay and talkative. All were honest. No one ever took anything of mine, lost things were often brought to me, anything that I had received in trade was always regarded as my property.

/74 cont./

157 In short, Bakaïrí kúra, the Bakaïrí are good. It would be foolish to misunderstand them in the Rousseau sense, for there was not a trace of any kind of idealism; they were nothing but the product of very simple and undisturbed conditions and gave the visitor who approached with eyes accustomed to motion and strife
000 a picture of an "idyl." Whether one comes from Giessbach, river, or sea, one will feel the magic of a quiet lagoon, that is all.

/75/

II.

Psychological notes about the attitude of the Bakaïrí toward new things. Limits of understanding. Studies with the one on special duty. Difficulties of understanding and of linguistic recording: substantives, verbs, superordinate concepts.

● 123 152 I have reported about the interest that the Bakaïrí took in my clothing. It gradually turned to the pockets in particular, and they soon knew exactly what was hidden in this one and what in that one.

"Had I made shirt and trousers myself?" This question, which annoyed me, always came up. "Had I made the hammock, the moskiteiro myself?" They were strangely affected by the fact that there was nothing that came to light in all my property for which I had answered in the affirmative. It was clearly to be seen that the objects whose origin they could picture to themselves to a certain extent also more actively occupied their attention. The texture of the Paraguayan hammock was felt and eagerly discussed every day.

They wanted to have everything. "Ura" "(it is) mine" was the simple explanation. The men preferred for themselves the practical thing, for wives and children the ornaments, for themselves knives, for the former beads. At sight of the beads, the women became positively excited and only my tin plate was sought with the same covetousness. "Buttons" seemed to be re-
301 438 garded as a kind of bead. Among several women I discovered ornaments that came from our first expedition and had traveled

/77 cont./

115 157 The various men on detached duty were very different in their usefulness for my purposes. Some tired too quickly, others were too unsteady. Fat, peasant-like Yapũ, for example, yawned after a few minutes, and his face seemed to say, "Sir, you are asking too much," and Luchu, the vain fop, only wanted to amuse himself. Of the younger ones, only the remarkable Kulekule was of any use to me. He was, in fact, taciturn and reserved, but he obviously liked to come, laughed quietly to himself, and then when he opened his mouth to speak, he answered better than the rest. He had received beads from me for a pot, but he had to give them up; I presented him with new ones and did not accept another pot that he brought me. He was happy about that, gave [123] me a bowl of the insipid pogu drink, and sat down beside me, leaning his head confidently against my shoulder. My most faithful guardian was Paleko; with his long hair sprinkled with gray, his fine old face, he could very well have been /78/ director emeritus of a Gymnasium. In fact, we were often reminded of European physiognomies, whose owners would perhaps protest at being compared to a naked Indian. Ehrenreich and I, for example, were jokingly and seriously in complete agreement that we recognized a couple of gentlemen from the Berliner Anthropologischen Gesellschaft on the Kulisehu; naturally these gentlemen did not resemble the Indians, but the Indians resembled the 123 gentlemen. I was alone with Paleko for half days at a time. Now and then, Eva or my intended or the Egyptian came alone or together, giving the two of us a little company.

461 Paleko plaited dainty little baskets, repaired weirs, twisted twine out of palm fibers, and did whatever else there was 126 in the way of such light tasks requiring patience. He gave me not 191 only words and sentences from his mother tongue, but also a list of Nahuquá words, which proved that he had associated a great deal 114 with these neighbors. He put less value on learning my language than the young people did. I would rather have given them German words instead of the Portuguese, but I regarded it as my duty not to confuse the poor souls for the future. Since my knowledge of Bakaïrí was still very meager, I progressed but slowly.

/85 cont./

000 brought three large fat barbados, which traveled to the grill and well deserved being eaten, even at the witching hour, in the scenery of the roaring waterfall gloriously illuminated by the moon.

122 On 2 October we set out at 6:30 and reached the Bakaïrí harbor at 2:15. Good Paleko was already standing there with a bowl of mandioca paste. Wilhelm and I immediately went to the
123 village. It was very entertaining /86/ to observe how one welcoming scene followed the other, since the canoes arrived at intervals; new guests, again and again new excitement, and a new rushing forth out of the flute-house, where we sat amidst beijús
302 and calabashes. Some of the people had adorned themselves festively with colored designs. Kulekule had decorated his face and upper body with orange-red lines and dots, my intended had red serpentine lines on her upper thighs, the Egyptian a red forehead and nose, Tumayaua's small grandchildren were daubed and smeared black, their mother Eva appeared with her hair and skin
301 powdered white from her beijú work. Good-natured Awiá wore a cake knife, that is, a beijú turner, in her hair in a curious fashion.

628 There were also foreign visitors present from Village II and
574 III; we counted 18 hammocks in Paleko's house and 13 in Tumayaua's
126 houses. Ehrenreich was taking photographs. For each shot the models were compensated with a few beads. They were somewhat afraid, but the beads conquered the fear of danger. The women's group on Plate 5 was obtained only with difficulty. The women had let themselves be positioned and arranged, and Ehrenreich was on the point of exposing the plate, when they suddenly discovered their mirrored images in the lens and, astonished, fell upon the apparatus in order to examine it more closely. The photographer in dire distress! Tumayaua had gained possession of a useless plate of glass -- "páru," water - and with it, following Vogel's directions, he set the first window in the straw dome of his house.

123 On this fine day I wanted to present a gift of honor to my hosts. Two young ladies of Berlin had given me a pretty blond doll to bring along, which they themselves had fitted out with a

[See p. 28--Analyst]

/86 cont./

123 gaily colored little dress and which, as the best item in our warehouse, was intended for "the most worthy one." I could not waver about its belonging by right to my intended, the heiress of the village and mistress of all the flour furnished me. The inquisitive question as to whether the wives of the Karaiben also had clothes should now be settled. I called the whole company together on the plaza and aroused sheer exultation when I exhibited the blue-eyed, rosy-cheeked little porcelain head, let them see and touch the genuine blond hair, and explained in turn the pretty clothes of the "kɣarâiba pekôto." And their ecstasy was increased when I then stepped up to my intended and said "âma zôto," "it is yours." The little yellow-skin blushed with joy, and to my amazement the otherwise taciturn mother began speaking in a loud voice and talked and talked, professing all kinds of things which I did not understand, but which, even though the Indians have no word for "thank you," was nevertheless a speech of thanks. I do not know upon whom my intended of that time may meanwhile have bestowed her heart and hand and, as a dowry, the precious Karaiben woman -- by one of those strange twists which sometimes joins the links in the chain of fate, however, it has come to pass that in the meantime one of the two Berlin ladies has become the wife of the publisher of this book, and the other, the wife of its author.

133 /87/ We stayed until well after dark and then went to our camp at the so-called second harbor of the village. A long stretch of rapids lies between the upper and the lower harbor; the canoes had been hauled over it during the afternoon, so that we would not have to overcome the obstacle the following morning.

[103]

To the Second Bakaïrí Village (Iguêti).

The journey from the first village to the second is very arduous because of the many rapids. It is characterized by long stretches where the river is filled with boulders, between which it was very low in view of the water level at that time. We called this type "stone cachoeiras"; they are regular cataracts which are probably more easily negotiated with a higher water level.

/90 cont./

535 and captivated me. Others placed themselves behind the three, sang and stamped along with them, more and more joined, and finally those nearest the door ran out, bent over and one following the other, the entire train trotted in a long chain over to the chief's house with uninterrupted ohúhoxó, came back to the flute-house, and back and forth across the plaza; we guests did not fail to take part in at least a few rounds of the musical marathon, but the good Bakaïrí ran, sang, stamped -- the whole night. It thus seems to be a very old custom to dance until broad daylight. Except that the men did the work by themselves. It was excellent to go to sleep by; like the familiar and often tested method of falling asleep by imagining an endless herd of sheep jumping over a fence and counting the individual leaping animals, their firm ohõhuχõ hypnotized with deadly certainty.

On our second visit we saw nothing of the kind.

123 A small shooting demonstration aroused more fear than astonishment; the women ran behind the houses; a tall youth fled into the hammock and covered his ears. After the third shot the chief begged "ãle," "it is enough." Afterwards they again had a desire for it and set tasks, to hit birds circling high in the air, which only Cooper's hunters could have fulfilled. At any rate, one must beware of sending off a shot about which one is not certain.

The photographic apparatus was set up opposite the chief's house; Aramöke accepted the invitation, stuck his head under the black cloth, viewed the picture with great pleasure, and chattered enthusiastically about it. The others did not trust the thing.

342 Aramöke's house, a magnificent example of primitive architecture, was larger and more carefully built than Paleko's in
353 Maigéri. Many storage baskets were piled up between the center
531 posts, and from the dome hung numerous maize birds and cobs. What absorbed our interest primarily, however, was a frieze of crude drawings which ran all around, about two meters above the doors, to a total length of about 56 meters. /91/ On narrow sheets of blackened tree bark, dots, rings, linear patterns, and in between

/91 cont./

353 a couple of fish drawings were drawn on with white loam. To our
531 greatest astonishment, triangles and squares were meant as illustrations of concrete objects and were not merely "geometric
126 figures." Wilhelm copied the entire frieze with painstaking precision, as Plates 20 and 21 show.[1] I shall later compare the practices among the Bakaïrí with those among the rest of the Kulisehu tribes. Unfortunately it was not possible to bring home the originals. The loam was so loosely applied that it immediately crumbled off, and so coarse-grained that it could not be permanently fixed with a coating of collodion, as was done successfully with the masks.

000 Toward sundown, led by Aramöke, who was parading around in his red scarf, we went to the camp, which was now pitched at the actual harbor, and there, after the new shipwreck, we encountered a great "drying of laundry." Antonio's oar was also broken.

●123 A number of Indians stood and sat around on the slope of the shore when we set out on 6 October shortly after 7:00. João Pedro had ordered for himself half a dozen fresh beijús and was served promptly in the early morning, as by a civilized baker.

133 The powerful rapids called "kulûri" by the Bakaïrí, which we soon cut through without peril, was the last one on the Kulisehu: "tûxu ãle," the stones are "all gone." On this stretch the river again greatly resembled the section beyond Independencia; many fallen trees in the water, frequent elevated sandy beaches or steep
[136] loam banks, the current somewhat faster. The small masarico with its little red legs came tripping rapidly toward us across the sand, called "go away, come, come," and flew ahead a little distance, to wait for us there again. The bends in the river were very numerous and the trip became a deadly bore. The sunlight was reflected glaringly by the light sand and the water glistened unbearably. At 2:45 we passed a right tributary-brook about eight meters wide, the Pakuneru. This is the same name that the Paranatinga bears among the Bakaïrí. At its source -- far away
[101] ih.... -- the kayãxo, the Kayapó /Cayapo/, are said to live;

[1] [See PP. 280-281 -- Analyst]

/92 cont./

574 night. We sat down in the middle of the large plaza in a long row. Each one was brought a drinking bowl; the largest, along
574 with a cigar, fell to me. Speeches of welcome were now ex-
576 changed with great volubility.

áma, you = that is you. ehé úra, yes, I = indeed, that is I. bakaïrí úra, I (am a) Bakaïrí. kχaráiba úra, I (am a) Karaibe. bakaïrí kχúra, (the) Bakaïrí (are) good. kχaráiba wakulukúlu, (the) Karaiben (are) very good. píma áma? (are) you (the) chief? píma úra, I (am the) chief.

●123 Opposite each Karaiben squatted a Bakaïrí and admired him and what he wore. The Swedish matches, knives, mirrors, buttons, beads -- it was always the same routine. Except that in the case of Porisa it was my notebook that was most appreciated, and it was not the written pages or those covered with drawings, but the white, empty sheets that elicited exclamations of delight from him. We also strode about the plaza in pairs, arm in arm, in affable conversation. We studied the geographical distribution of the Kalisehu tribes in detail, but the dwelling places of the Trumaí still remained as obscure as before.

345 The flute-house was large and spacious, its roof dilapidated, much straw lay on the floor inside, and here, as in the houses, we missed the cleanliness which pleased us so in the other vil-
534 lages. In front of the flute-house, resting on cross-sticks, lay a
[532] huge hollow tree-trunk -- a morcego (bat) tree our men called it -- /93/ irregularly painted with human figures and fish vertebrae. During festivals they drummed on this giant instrument with thick wooden clubs, similar to the mandioca pestles.

535 Inside there were handsome masks and a new form of dance costume; two huge crinolines ten meters in circumference, covered with straw, and comparable to small huts, koálu, which
126 the dancer wore on a ring on his shoulder. Soon enthusiastic
301 barter was under way everywhere. We obtained fine feather
237 ornaments, crowns made of arara feathers, which are light blue
534 on one side, yellow on the other, dainty mats in which they are
283

/93 cont./

126 153 taken on him. With lively gesticulations and a /94/ memory worthy of appreciation, he repeated the entire procedure: the head from front to back, from side to side, the nose from top to bottom, the space between the eyes, the length of the extremities and their parts, the height of the navel above the ground, etc., etc., and after each pantomime he stretched out his hand toward the katakuá, the beads. There was nothing for it, the man's claim must be admitted, but I was obliged to compensate him with small embroidery beads; for when I started to pay him, he faithfully went over the number of measurements again after each pair of beads, first pointing to the latter, then to the corresponding part of the body, and he did not rest until the long list was quite carefully brought to an end. If these instances pile up, I said to myself, and if the Bakaïrí produce many such critical natures, their art of counting will make rapid progress. Here, indeed, was a tangible example of how trade fructifies and develops arithmetical gifts!

126 345 562 The women offered some resistance. It was quite impossible to take the readings on them in the flute-house. They were not permitted to enter it, although the noble building was already half in ruins. Hence they were measured and photographed on the plaza.

●123 We carefully packed up our bartered treasures and asked Porisa to keep them for us in his house until our return. We did not dare overload our canoes and had to provide room for the collection among the tribes living downstream. Porisa, before our eyes, shoved the bundles onto a high cross-beam between the center posts and promised that no one would touch them.

At 4:30 we then set out, very satisfied, for the harbor once 226 [197] more. Antonio with eight Indians had gone out in front of the inlet where fishing was more rewarding and there demonstrated the use of the hook and line. His companions were able to set out homeward toward the village with a heavy load of piranhas, a 122 bagadú, and a pintado. We traded one of our small canoes for a better, larger one.

/94 cont./

II. To the Nahuquá.

000

Intercourse between the Bakaïrí and Nahuquá. Surprised in the harbor. Strange reception. Village vacated. A Yaurikumá. Overnight. Mehinakú in the village. Dances. Sad prospects for Professor Bastian. I go on ahead to the Mehinakú. Improvement of conditions. News about the battle between the Suyá and the Trumaí.

Y 648 B 191 648 Y [197] Without question the Nahuquá have all kinds of intercourse with the Bakaïrí. Even from old Paleko I had learned a whole series of Nahuquá words and from these, to my great delight, was immediately able to tell that there was a new Karaiben /Carib/ tribe involved. Paleko told me that he had formerly lived for a time among the Nahuquá; Tumayaua, too, had already been among them and /95/ knew many words of their language, whereas all of the Bakaïrí of the Mehinakú living downstream from the Nahuquá did not know half a dozen words.

Y 123 361 The Nahuquá who lived in the third village of the Bakaïrí accompanied us when, on 7 October 1887, we traveled from the harbor of the third Bakaïrí to his fellow tribesmen only a day's journey away, and late in the afternoon he climbed out at a place B ●123 where a path led up, in order to announce us in the village. Three Bakaïrí from the harpy village, including Chief Porisa, had also B /Fig. 4 appears here/ joined us. We had started off at 6:30 and Y 131 133 226 were obliged to pass through another small rapid with a strong swell. It, with a few fish corrals, still belonged to the Bakaïrí, while a small brook to the right, two meters wide, which we passed about 9:00 and which was closed off by a fish fence, was already the property of the Nahuquá. At 11:00 another wide brook flowed in from the right, the Háiri of the Bakaïrí, or Ráza of the Nahuquá in whose territory it lay. Much high sandy beach, four to five meters above the water level in the dry season, willow B 226 bushes, countless dead and fallen trees. At 1:00 we made a /96/ halt at a place with abundant fish; the piranhas snapped so quickly that one had only to toss out the line and they were already caught; one large, meter-long bagadú that Antonio had caught with iguana

Y 123 241 /101 cont./ Wilhelm came across the Chief busy planting maize behind his hut; with a little stick he dug holes two to three inches deep and placed several kernels in them. When my cousin came along, the old man insisted that he plant the rest, an incident similar to my experience in the first Bakaïrí village.

Y 203 152 Soon afterwards great agitation suddenly broke out in the midst of the company. Wilhelm was led into the hut of the chief and found sitting there three newcomers who were staring darkly ahead while everyone was noisily talking at once and a few women were weeping. He could not make out what was happening and [Y 302] realized only that there had been bad news, the bearers of which were the three red-painted strangers. Only later in the flute-house was the news made intelligible to him with much pantomime. The bad Suyá had finally successfully carried out the plan T 648 to attack the Trumaí, for which they had sought our assistance in 1884. "Suyá Trumaí tok tok"; it was thus illustrated with lively gestures that the Suyá had struck down and overcome the Trumaí. It seemed that the former had pulled some of the Trumaí canoes toward them with hooks and tipped them over; arrows were shot at the swimmers, and others had their hands tied behind their backs.

Y 203 101 The people who had brought the news were the Nahuquá living closest to the Trumaí, who were called Guikurú /Kuikuru/.

Y 122 On the forenoon of 11 October Wilhelm and Ehrenreich, whose indisposition was growing worse, returned to the harbor and rowed off on the morning of the 12th in order to catch up with me. Two of the Mehinakú, who lived below the Nahuquá and had correctly interpreted my disappearance, had already traveled after me the day before, but fortunately arrived a day later than I did.

000 /102/

III. To the Mehinakú.

Going ahead alone. Arrival and reception. Festival hut. Disturbed harmony and reconciliation. Prosperity. Flying ants. Ethnographic collection.

B 123 It had required some power of persuasion to induce Tumayaua and his companion, the "cab driver," who had fortunately once

/102 cont./

been among the Mehinakú /Mehinacu/, although he did not know their language, to carry out my plan, but one was encouraged by the example of the other.

We set out early on 10 October and reached the harbor of the Mehinakú on 12 October at 11:00 in the forenoon. We had not hurried particularly; the two rowed best only when I provided a good example. The most dreadful thing to me was that they traced all the bends in the river and never cut off one of them by crossing it. There was not a fish, not a bird, that did not hold their attention. They shot at, without hitting, several gallinaceous birds, a capybara that was swimming across the river was wounded in its hind leg and, with the arrow, ran screaming into the woods. We slept that night beside an inlet with an abundance of fish and made a good catch. The two roasted fish all night long, carefully keeping the fire going under the wooden grill; they had

Fig. 4. Mehinakú woman.

set up their hammocks so close that they could comfortably reach out, turn the fish, occasionally consume a piece, and have the benefit of the fire's warmth.

On the second morning they told me that the bank on the left belonged to the Mehinakú, on the right to the Nahuquá. The harbor lay along a steep sandbank where a small brook emptied. Rhomboid designs were scratched on the trees. The Bakairí shoved the canoe far up into the brook and carefully concealed the oars and carrying baskets, which still contained remnants of fish and beijús, in the woods. Tumayaua prepared a gift for the Mehinakú hosts and for this purpose hung a rosary-like cord around his neck, on which were strung fruits with an oily content. The oil was rubbed on the skin scratched by the medicinal scarifier of the Indians.

/128 cont./

B 122 increasingly difficult, the provisions were exhausted, and before us lay the prospect of a long land march made exceedingly more difficult by the rise of the waters. The food supplies that had been brought along were practically exhausted, except for salt, Paraguayan tea, and a little coffee. The soup tablets had disappeared, there were two containers of vegetables left, and the rest consisted of a little bottle of Kemmerich boullon, two small containers of peptone, and three bottles of liquor. Only Kemmerich meat powder had made it possible for us to stay in the Indian villages; the last two containers of it had been cooked in the Auetó village.

B 122 123 On 31 October we set out on the return journey. Without the help of the Indians we should have been unable to transport the collection to Independencia, for we did not have enough canoes. For this service, however, we had carefully saved a number of attractive and useful trade items. First /Pl. XI appears here/ /129/ five Auetó accompanied us to the Mehinakú in several canoes filled with our loads, the Mehinakú helped us on to the Nahuquá, with the Nahuquá we reached the third Bakaïrí. Bakaïrí from all three villages took part in the transport that increased from village to village, and on 13 November we drew up, a small fleet of 13 canoes with 14 Bakaïrí, in front of the kitchen site of Independencia.

W 126 I should like to sketch briefly what is still to be reported from the second visit to the villages. The two Mehinakú days were very pleasant and instructive. Photographs and measurements had to be taken, since Ehrenreich had been ill at the time of our first visit. During the measuring, the women trembled all over their bodies. They had remarkably many children: in the case of one woman we counted the unheard of number of six, another had four daughters. Later I shall have to sing the praises of these Nu-Aruak women, the inventors of the pots and the best benefactors of the mandioca industry. An excellent picture of the company is shown on Plate 8, "Demonstration of a bird whistle" /see p. 85/. They are listening to the swelling tones which the native sitting in front of me is drawing out of the new silver object. The gesture of the little girl in the

W 163 W 323 W 123

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 122]

W 1392 /130 cont./ rained by buckets, and the shower bath was quite cold, scarcely
W [821] more than 15°. Our good Mehinakú were unhappy that we did not follow their example and puff against the heavenly sluices; they hastily built a protective roof, probably more to keep busy, and complained incessantly "ulãpe, ulãpe!"

W 1222 In the harbor of the Mehinakú we acquired another canoe, meanwhile the Auetö who had accompanied us this far had disappeared without a trace. Vogel's hunting knife was also missing.

Y 245 The Nahuquá village was in the middle of the pikí harvest. Like cannon balls in an arsenal, the pikí lay in piles outside
Y 251 and inside. Racks had been set up in the houses to dry the seeds, the women were busy peeling the fruit, cooking it, and scraping the seeds, human beings and utensils butter yellow -- Caryocar
Y [157] butyrosum. No pogu, but piki juice; the pikí seeds with an almond-like taste, an electuary "pikí herb" not at all bad in
Y 164 moderate doses. Many sick in the hammocks, stomach and skin affected, one old baldhead, face and head covered with sores.
Y 123 Tumayaua was given pikí as a parting gift for the trip. Only
[431] one newborn child, which the mother brought to us so that we would blow on it, seemed to know nothing yet about pikí.

B Y 648 In Bakaïrí village III, which, by the way, the Nahuquá accompanying us did not want to enter, the old festival hut had
B 731 burned down and the people were very much afraid of the previously greatly admired matches. But we did find magnifi-
B 532 cent bird-masks and fish-masks. Of the two canoes we ordered,
B 122 one was not yet finished and the other had been wrecked.
501 Bakaïrí village II seemed deserted. The occupants were
B in part absent, why remained unclear; also, we had apparently
● 123 seen foreign guests the first time and included them. Chief
B [622] Aramöke, however, was gracious as ever and had set before us beijú which we could have offered the most distinguished tea guests at home. It was only with great difficulty that we found a few men to transport part of the collection for some distance overland. It was always said that they had to stay with the
B 752 children. Then in the chief's house lay a woman with burns on

2. Steinen- -124 E, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/130 cont./

her arm, who also needed company. A colleague with a very professional look on his face sat beside her and occasionally had a therapeutic seizure, during which, moaning pitiably, he blew clouds of tobacco smoke over the sick woman or, turned toward the wall, groaned dreadfully. The "cab driver," who, with Tumayaua, had accompanied us as far as the Auetó and who was a great witch-doctor, took leave of us here. He by all means had to take part in the treatment and was not to be persuaded to leave the case solely to his colleague, who was, after all, blowing extremely efficiently. As a reward for this civilized behavior, we provided him with a /131/ civilized exterior in the form of a shirt and head covering, which, along with a big knife, was the goal of his ambition. We solemnly dressed him up, along with Tumayaua, who had been parading about for a long time in a black and white checked shirt and white linen trousers underneath, and we photographed the two, as is shown in Figure 8 /see p. 125/. Wilhelm had been saving up a few prizes for the deserving travel companions, a magnificent Düsseldorf carnival-cap, worn by him himself as Prince Carnival on a high triumphal chariot, green, yellow, white, and red, with sparkling bells, likewise the medal of His Foolish Majesty, set with brilliants and worn around the neck -- these two pieces went to Tumayaua -- and a genuine carnival cap of the still gayer sister city on the Rhine, which we put over the tonsure of the cab-driver colleague, for want of a doctoral hood. /Figure 8 appears here./ In addition, Tumayaua was given a black frock-coat purchased by Wilhelm in Rio de Janeiro, an import from Paris et le dernier mot de la perfection /and the last word in perfection/. The illustration gives us a faint idea of how ghastly the two fools, puffed up with pride, appeared in their clothing. both certainly not the most handsome types, but now they suddenly looked positively ugly, bent and crooked, and the reason for this, more than the shabbiness of the costume, was that all the contour lines were obliterated and had lost their character. Tumayaua in shirt and trousers was as clumsy as on the first day; he would tear them in the forest, but then again

2: Steinen--, S-, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/131 cont./

would take exaggerated care of them by removing them on occasions when even for children it would not be necessary.

In the first Bakaïrí village the population had increased by one young soul. Pauhaga had become a father and was observing the lying-in period along with his wife. I shall come back to the scene, which seemed comical to us, in discussing the couvade. The maize was a succulent green: we were offered excellent, somewhat dry maize beiju. My tobacco planting on village plaza had shot up tremendously and was fenced in all around by a palisade.

But what did our astonished eyes catch sight of behind Paleko's house? A new construction, already far advanced, of a strange kind. Or rather, one of very familiar appearance. The Bakaïrí had taken our rancho at Independencia as a model and, instead of their beehive, had started a houle with a triangular gable /132/ and a two-sided roof. We had believed we were seeing something genuine in a remote corner, and already it was disappearing. "The first glimpse of light," says Bastian, "will also be the last."

Fig. 8.
Indians disguised as Europeans.

Tumayaua, who was going along to Independencia, nevertheless carried out the official farewell in Maigéri. He handed me two large gourd bowls. A little while after that he came to fetch me, seized me vehemently by the arm, and, shouting loudly all around, led me from the hut to the beam in the middle of the plaza and, with a sort of enthusiasm, pushed me down on to the seat. Soon four Karaiben were sitting there in a row, side by side.

B /132 cont./
123 Then he dragged up one of the nicely plaited storage baskets
431 three-quarters of a meter high and, boasting happily, put it be-
[235] fore us as a present. The best was yet to come, however. A
B round mat was placed on the ground, the chief called, and out
[262] of the houses all the women and children came running and slapped a beijú onto the mat, each one running back immediately to make room. The agile flurry with which the beijús came flying was charming. Some 16 cakes were lying there. Then "śle" was said and we were dismissed. We, of course, outdid ourselves in praise of the hospitality of the Bakaïrí and secretly made up our mind to pay them back handsomely in Independencia.

B Since a heavy thunderstorm broke out, we stayed in the vil-
123 lage the last night. It was raining in torrents outside and Tumayaua was describing his journeys. We all sat for a long time around the fire, which the Indians let blaze up wildly by recklessly tearing bunches of straw out of the wall of the festival hut. Luchu had taken possession of the black frock-coat as his sole article of clothing; another man had decorated his ear with a fishhook. My erstwhile intended - it pains me not to be able to keep this a secret -- honored me with scarcely a glance.

The song of woman's constancy!

300 /The remainder of Ch. VI, pp. 132-137, and Ch. VII, pp. 138-152, are omitted in the translation./

/153/ Chapter VIII

I. Geography and Classification of the Tribes of the Schingú Source-region

B S 101 131 823 [115] The old chief of the Suyá, distinguished from his companions by an extremely modest lip-plug, had enumerated for us in 1884 the long list of tribes that were settled on the upper Schingú /Xingu/ and with his finger had drawn in the sand the source rivers on whose banks they lived. Cf. Durch Central-brasilien /Through Central Brazil/, page 214 /see 1. Steinen, this file, pp. 104-106/. His 13 tribal names had tempted us to undertake

/260 cont./

531 825 the world is pictured in these minds!" No. 10, semímo ikuto, pictures of bats! Rhombuses strung together. Head, extremities, tail, where are they? We shall come across bats again, however, in other drawings and especially on the pots, where they are re-
[113] duced to the same rhombus form. In Brehm's Tierleben I, 1890, page 363, there is an illustration of Vesperugo noctula, the Abendsegler /"evening swift"/, which in the specimen on the left, wrapped in a wing membrane and hanging, shows us a somewhat similar outline; if it were stylized, it could also be developed into a rhombus. -- /261/ Let us now confirm the fact that on these two plates we have rhombuses in three patterns: that of the pakú, either an outline or spotted-surface design; that of the nuki, with diagonal triangles, and the one of the bat, which is simply filled in. The negative drawing of the bats, No. 10, would be exactly like No. 11, the Boa constrictor or jiboya snake. One sees, at any rate, that one can arrive at the geometric figure of the rhombus in very different ways.

171 531 825 Mereschu and uluri. /Fig. 43 appears here./ Strangely enough, the frieze of the Bakaïrí house lacked a design which is the most common one, not only among the Bakaïrí, but also among all the tribes of the upper Schingú. On our first journey we noticed it often enough, but did not appreciate and understand it. In my report Durch Centralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/ it is found on page 163 /see 1: Steinen, this file, p. 42/ as a drinking-bowl design of the Bakaïrí and on page 213 /see 1. Steinen, this file, p. 104/ as a pencil drawing of the Suyá in the handsomest delineation: rhombuses whose corners are filled in with small triangles. Only after the discovery was made in the second Bakaïrí village was
[136] the explanation given. The original of the decoration is a small, flat lagoon fish, a Serrasalmo or Myletes, related to the piranhas. The one drawn by Wilhelm measured 19 centimeters in length, 9.5 centimeters in width, and was silver-gray with brown spots. No
[123] artist has ever had more success with a picture than did Wilhelm with this drawing. People came crowding up and all were positively happy to view it. And this was repeated among all the tribes. Even the Paressí in Cuyabá were delighted with it and

/296 cont./

*191 532 535 [538] to the stamping. It is extremely characteristic that the Bakaïrí have the same word for "dancing" and "singing." "The meaning of the songs," says Martius, "is simple: praise of the warlike and hunting deeds of individuals or hordes, enumeration of certain animals and remarks about their characteristics. If masks appear at the festival, most of which represent animals, the wearers imitate their voices."

*191 •123 532 We did not observe anything that would permit us to conclude that the masks are in any way regarded as sacred. The pieces plaited out of palm straw in particular were all heedlessly tossed aside after use. True, the masks were sometimes hidden from us, but only in the same way that /297/ all portable utensils and ornaments were hidden from us, out of fear of robbery. Once the people had gained confidence in us, they surrendered their masks to us without further ado and made new ones to order. They were demonstrated for us with joking and laughter, like a pretty toy.

529 Among the docile Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ on the Paranatinga and the Rio Novo the principal festival usually occurred in April. I, with my civilized conceptions, was pursuing the idea of a feast of thanksgiving and thought of the possibility that the festival held at harvest time was somehow being celebrated in praise and honor of some friendly powers regarded as the givers of good things. I therefore tried to find out from Antonio whether anything like that could be established. Antonio, however, did not respond to my suggestion. "We celebrate the festival around harvest time," he declared, "because then we have something to celebrate. In the dry period we must save, in the rainy season everything would become moldy." Materialistic, but understandable.•

•"Usually a surplus of supplies for the beverages is the occasion for the festival," says Martius, "but where European custom has asserted itself and Christians live next to Indians, a saint's day will probably be chosen for it."

*171 591 844 /331 cont./ see, could occupy the lying-in room at the home of the parents-in-law. Although the people lived in monogamy and the father *171 604 was the head of the family, the mother's brother was still regarded as equal to the father as a protector of the child and in [593] any case, if the father died, assumed all responsibilities until the children were grown. He, not the mother, was in charge of their property.

*171 601 Among all the tribes, older and younger brothers had different designations. The younger brother was on the same level as the cousin and had a name in common with him. The Bakaïrí *171 ● 123 602 called me "older brother" and later in the third village also "grandfather"; the Mehinakú called me "uncle" (mother's brother). My traveling companions were always called my "younger brothers or cousins" and were also addressed in this way by the Indians themselves.

*171 583 585 Marriages were concluded without wedding celebrations; the parents, first the fathers, then the mothers, talk matters over, and the father of the bride receives /332/ arrows and stone axes; the bridegroom must also work with him in the clearing "to show that he knows how," he hangs his hammock above that of the girl, and everything is in order. That older men have young *171 582 wives and younger men older wives was clearly pronounced only on the Paranatinga, but not on the Kulisehu (this prerogative of the old thus appears only with the decline of the tribe). At least the few matrimonial unions with which I became more closely 586 acquainted in Maigéri were evenly matched. Divorce among the Bakaïrí takes place without any trouble, it was said, even if the husband is not in favor of it. "The woman leaves, perhaps he will catch her again."

*171 592 [593] I have spoken earlier about the division of labor between the sexes; cf. pp. 216 ff. The woman did not occupy an undignified position. The husband let her carry a larger load than he himself carried, he kept her away from the flute house where the men consulted, smoked, celebrated festivals, and where strangers were lodged, he was her lord and master -- and he did what she wanted. When Martius says that the woman does not occupy an inferior position "in spite of slavish subordination as a result of

/332 cont./

*171 562 the gay activity /der heitern Geschäftigkeit/," this is perfectly applicable to our Indians with the reservation that the slavish subordination was very much in the background. The woman needed protection, first, because she was weak and "wept" whenever there was danger, and then because she had to be protected from foreign lusts. In returning home from the plantings, she walked in front of her husband, since, heavily loaded, she hastened forward rapidly and everything was safe; in the forest she walked behind him so that he would be the first to meet any possible danger. She was protected from foreign guests, and, if they were of a dubious nature, as we were, the women and children ran into the forest.

*171 681 ● 123 674 What occurs in dramas of adultery I do not know. We had no opportunity to observe anything that belonged to the sphere of the administration of justice. If I asked Antonio about crimes of any kind, he always answered that such things probably happened in former times, but no longer occur now.

*171 123 674 [648] Theft of things belonging to us was, in any case, very frequent, except among the Bakaïrí, although friend Luchu, at the time he visited us in Independencia, was no longer altogether trustworthy. When the confusion in the Trumaí camp arose because I was obliged to demand the return of a glass of my stolen arsenic pills, we saw that the Yaulapiti, who had come with us, were trying to snatch the stone axes of the Trumaí. Always and without exception it was supposed to have been a stranger who had done the stealing. The people living together also had little that they needed to take from one another, and the thief could scarcely have enjoyed it without being discovered. There is nothing more natural, therefore, than that the idea of morals rests most particularly on tribal affiliation. Among the Bakaïrí kurá means "we," "we all," "our" and at the same time "good" ("our people"); kurápa, "not we," "not our," and at the same time "bad, stingy, unhealthy." All evil comes /333/ from foreigners, and not least sickness and death, which are sent from outside sorcerers.

*171 186 [754]

/333 cont./

*171 437 Bakaïrí translated the Portuguese word comprar, "to buy," as yekadile, "to sit down." Trade is therefore still an exchange of hospitable gifts. But this has its origin only in the level of culture,
*171 574 577 not in nobility of character. The Indian is not at all hospitable in the sense that he feels greatly honored by the visit and feels absolutely obliged to entertain lavishly with beijús and drinks. For this effort he would certainly like a reciprocal one; he soon becomes impatient if the guest is staying only because living is cheap, and he frankly asks him to leave the village. It is even reported in the Bakaïrí legends, along with the invention of the dance, that the people who were invited and entertained had given gifts of arrows and string. Our travel companions undoubtedly offered us fish en route /334/ only when they themselves were satisfied, and it was not the best beijús which they left for us.
[186] The endless talk among themselves as to whether this or that tribe was "kũra" clearly shows that they were only naïvely hospitable; there was always the greatest gratification when we declared a tribe to be "kurãpa," because this meant that for our part we had done less business with that one. They praised themselves far too much for the recipient to be able to believe in the pure virtue of the unselfish savage.

*171 123 437 Our matter-of-fact, businesslike way of exchanging one object for another was at first completely new to all the tribes. They quickly learned, however. Nevertheless, the funniest enormities occurred. One man gathered up a handful of mangabas and then impetuously demanded a large knife. One wanted to have beads in exchange for the bandaging of his hand. Only if it were explained to them that one had but a single specimen of an object was one not bothered further.

*171 55 [553] Names. The son, soon after birth, is given the name of the grandfather, uncle, or an ancestor, not that of the father. The names among the Bakaïrí are animal names in part, but I believe only a small part. The following are the only ones whose meaning I understand: Luchu, for example, is a water snake; the native name of Chief Reginaldo on the Rio Novo was izãna = cayman; an old man in Igueti was named põne = black piranha.

/394 cont./

173 source region of the Tapajoz, and from there some of them emi-
167 grated to the Batovy and Kulisehu in the source region of the Schingú. According to the legend, they reached the salto from the source region of the Paranatinga and Ronuro.

The separation of the West Bakaïrí and East Bakaïrí would under all circumstances have to be dated back to at least the previous century and before the time when the Bakaïrí spread to the southwest into the source region of the Cuyabá. The
174 linguistic comparison agrees well with these conclusions; the
197 two groups of Bakaïrí speak a language that is identical in form and content, with slight dialectal differences. A few fish and trees are designated differently; the name of the akurí palm of the Kulisehu is that of the oaussú palm of the Paranatinga, and
[177] vice versa. As far as the Schingú Bakaïrí are concerned, it is absolutely certain that they have never had any contact with the white man.

619 As a result of our expedition of 1884, West Bakaïrí and East
● [123] Bakaïrí came together again. Antonio, after his return home
[166] to the Paranatinga, told of the fellow tribesmen on the Batovy, and the practical Chief Felipe had the idea that he must try to
[484] persuade them to settle on the Paranatinga. In September of 1886 he set out with Antonio and another man; they reached the Batovy in three days and required another three days along the river until they reached the first village.

/395/ Chief Luku was kurápa and did not entertain them as splendidly as they had expected, but several East Bakaïrí, our "professor" of 1884 in the lead, accompanied them to the
619 Paranatinga. The visitors had great fear of the cattle, but great
43 joy over the visitors-gifts, with which Felipe did not stint. I inquired specifically what they had been given to take along. "We gave them all the iron we had, chickens (this, however, was later denied), small banana plants, mandioca twigs, maize, and rice." Thus one sees how the first opportunity is immediately used to transplant the cultivated produce! If the experiment succeeded, our successors on the Schingú will be able to eat bananas!

/21 cont./

701 disturb the Brazilian campesinos in these regions. According to
648 Herrmann Meyer (28) they had already wreaked serious destruction

28. Herrmann Meyer, "Bericht uber seine zweite Xingú-Expedition," loc. cit., pp. 115 and 116.

in the region of the Serra Trombador and killed several inhabitants. At the time of my stay on the Corrego Fundo ranch, the Kayabí had penetrated the mountains above the Rio Paranatinga up to some six leagues from Corrego Fundo and attacked Cacique Antonio as he was looking for rubber with his people for Señor Jange Soares, the owner of the ranch. But Antonio had driven them back with his armed people and killed a Kayabí on this occasion.

622 342 Cacique Antonio's big house where I visited him had been built a year earlier. It consisted of a large middle room which communicated on the left side of the entrance with two other rooms which formed the dwelling house proper of the cacique and Doña Rosa, and on the right side with a large room for guests that fulfilled exactly the functions of the house for fiestas
622 342 of the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions. All the men and boys of the aldea could go in and out of it as they pleased.
574 This room also served for dancing, and during my stay in it,
[302] from time to time, some Xinguanos would enter, their faces
[533] painted in red and black, and sing their monotonous melodies
[535] as they danced around the post set in the middle of the room.
[352] Cacique Antonio's own dwelling already had at this time quite
[123] a modern appearance. In the "dining room" there was a table and a large armchair as well as dishes and spoons, and I was entertained at his table in the Brazilian manner with a dish of
622 meat with rice and flour. He obviously enjoyed renewing old
115 memories of the journeys he had made with Karl von den Steinen. He looked with great interest at Karl von den Steinen's works about his travels and, on his part, showed me some photographs

/21 cont./
622 that he still kept from those days. Antonio had no children by
115 Dona Rosa. I had the opportunity to become acquainted with
[123] her when, returning in poor health from the Rio Kulisehu, I was most generously accommodated in her house although Antonio was away.

342 José Coroado's house, situated in front of his stepfather
352 Antonio's house, was just as large and built in the same style.
353 Its interior gave much more of a native impression than Antonio's house. In the half-dark rooms several women lay in the hammocks, /22/ among them one with Jose's little daughter, who was only a few weeks old. All the walls in the house showed in the upper part, directly under the ceiling, boards painted in black and white. These friezes made by the Xinguanos showed the typical paintings of the Bakairí. All of the decorations known to the Bakairí of the upper Xingu River regions appeared in these paintings, such as, for example, the figures called
159 uluri, merechu, and maimai. José, in spite of his youth, had
191 already had a great deal of experience. The hole in his lower lip at once recalled his early childhood among his own fellow
[871] countrymen, the Bororo, whose idiom he still knew. As already mentioned above, he had come with his mother to the house of Cacique Antonio when he was a boy of five or six, but he had received part of his education in the capital, Cuiabá, so that he was better acquainted than any other Rio Paranatinga Bakairí with the Portuguese language, which he also used in
159 talking with his mother. When he was an adult, Cacique
619 Antonio had taken him along on a trip to the Batovy and Kulisehu
484 rivers. Already at that time he had had trouble with his stepfather because he had become too involved with the pretty girls of the first aldea of the Rio Kulisehu Bakairí and had thus damaged the good relations with the inhabitants of that aldea. The anger of the inhabitants of the first Rio Kulisehu aldea caused by José Coroado's behavior still continued at the time of my journey to the Rio Kulisehu, and José did not dare to accompany me to that aldea because he had learned that its

/29 cont./

114 died a short time before. Cacique Karía, who in times past
115 had received me so hospitably in Maimaieti aldea, was still
159 living but very old. He was quite isolated, for his wife as well
622 as his two daughters, whom I had known as little girls, had died. Cacique Antonio was also still alive but was also already old and had remained with his family and a few people at the location of the old Bakairí aldea of the Paranatinga Bakairí.
622 Antonio always clung stubbornly to the idea that the land bound
159 by the Serra Azul, the Riberão Bananal, and the Rio Paranatinga
619 belonged to him and his Bakairí, and he did not want to leave
648 his aldea so as not to lose the right to this region. As for the
114 changes brought about by the establishment of the Simões Lopes Post, he maintained a very cautious attitude and did not recognize the authority of the Post administration, according to which the Bakairí, Pires, was named cacique of the Xinguanos in his place and appointed to administer the affairs of this part of the Bakairí of the Simões Lopes Post. When I later met Cacique Antonio, he told me repeatedly that he was still Capitão and the legitimate chief of his fellow tribesmen. Among other news received from the Bakairí in Cuiabá, I heard that José Coroado and his brother-in-law Chico, who had accompanied me with the latter on my expedition to the Rio Kulisehu, had died since.

114 In the course of the journey which I finally undertook,
622 leaving Cuiabá on January 27, 1927, I was able to make only
159 a passing visit to Cacique Antonio in his aldea, but he himself visited me at Simões Lopes several times. (Cf. Fig. 1.)
● [123] I was very well received in his house as an old friend and treated to a glass of guarana drink. Whereas Antonio had no issue by Rosa Bororo, he had after her death three sons by his second wife. The photograph shown in Figure 2 shows Antonio before his house with his family, and his horse on the right. The condition of his house, in contrast with that of previous times when I visited him at the height of his power, conveyed an impression
114 of poverty. In a small house situated close to Antonio's, I also
115

/33 cont./

226 114 at least up to where the post is located /cited in English/."
At the time of Karl von den Steinen's expedition, the matrinchán fish was held as the most precious boon in the country of the Paranatinga Bakairí, and in its honor they held their most beautiful fiesta. (39) When Karl von den Steinen suggested to

39. Karl v. d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., pp. 24 and 25.

Cacique Felipe that his aldea, which seemed to be losing all its population then, should be moved closer to Cuiabá, his sole reply was /34/ matrinchán. Later at the aldea, then situated [123] farther upriver, I was treated almost every day to a tasty matrinchán, and when I visited the Xinguanos in the year 1927 in their settlement on the Rio Paranatinga, they also offered me fish. Of course, it may be that this abundance of fish in the Rio Paranatinga is restricted to certain times of the year.

114 179 283 352 I also regard as incorrect Petrullo's observation that the Bakairí of the post had substituted hammocks made of cotton thread for the ancestral ones of buriti fiber. From the beginning the hammock made of cotton thread was typical especially of the Bakairí of the region of the tributaries of the upper Xingu River, in contrast to the hammocks woven of buriti fiber used by the other tribes in this region. But already at the time of Karl von den Steinen's expeditions, (40) the Bakairí of the Rio

40. Ibid., p. 239.

Paranatinga had hammocks made of buriti fiber, which, they said, old Cacique Caetano had introduced among them. As for 114 179 304 Petrullo's opinion that the custom of filing the upper incisors is ancestral with the Bakairí and that they still retain it, I must contest it with the fact that the Bakairí of the region of the